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THE IDEAL OF THE COURT LADY
1561-1625

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE
AND LITERATURE
1935

By
LUCY HUNTER MURRAY

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Two ideals for women came down through the Middle Ages to Tudor times--the ideal of the good wife and the ideal of the court lady. According to those, such as Aristotle, St. Augustine and the church fathers,¹ who upheld the ideal of the good wife, women were created weak and inferior to men, and destined only to achieve perfection as good wives through the careful guidance of their husbands. The virtues of the good wife were to be chastity, silence, obedience, prudence in the management of her household, and modesty in her speech and behavior. The ideal of the court lady, on the other hand, had been formulated under the chivalric system. According to its code every woman had to have a knight to serve, honor, and defend her. The training for such a lady, then, became in the main one in the art of pleasing. Good manners, correct deportment, skill in all the courtly accomplishments, as well as ease and grace of manner, were necessary for her.² The pleasant conversation, the poise and charm of this lady contrasted vividly with the silence, the unassuming manner, and the sober gravity of the good wife.

During the Renaissance the early humanists added learning to the accomplishments of both the good wife and the court lady. Believing as they did in the great moral value of education, they wished to extend it to women who possessed a mental capacity equal to that of men. In their advocacy of education for women they described an ideal good wife and an ideal court lady made more virtuous by learning.³ Such a conception found

¹See Aristotle, *Politica*, Bk. I, secs. 12-13; Aristotle, *Oeconomica*, Bk. I, secs. 3-4; Bede Jarret, *Social Theories of the Middle Ages* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1926), pp. 70 ff.; cf. *Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Batman Uppon Bartholome, His Booke De proprietatibus rerum*, trans. Stephen Batman (London, 1582), Bk. IV, chap. xiii.

²See Mrs. Dorothy Gardiner, *English Girlhood at School* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 32-35, 53-56, 98-106, 171.

³See Foster Watson, *Vives and the Renaissance Education of Women* (New York, 1912), pp. 139-48, 165, 167, 178-79, 200, 204, 229-30, 235.

favor, and England soon had her group of brilliant women, famous for their great learning and virtue.⁴

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Italian Renaissance ideal of the court lady was introduced into England and met with great approval. This ideal had developed with the doctrine of neo-Platonism--the worship of beauty. According to this philosophy, man by a contemplation of beauty might be led to see and understand divine wisdom and love,--God. The highest form of beauty on earth was thought to be that of women. But the women who inspired this vision and this love must possess, as Lorenzo the Magnificent pointed out, "humanly speaking, highest perfection."⁵ This perfection is perhaps best expressed by Castiglione in his Book of the Courtier. The ideal court lady who was to win the affection and regard of all at court must possess beauty, nobility of birth, and a fair name. She must be able to delight all by her pleasant conversation, her graceful manner, and her dignified behavior. In this she would find it necessary to have some learning and skill in such courtly accomplishments as dancing, singing, and playing on the lute and devising sports and pastimes. A thorough knowledge of the art of being a good housewife was also thought fitting for this court lady. When, however, Castiglione added that she must possess the moral virtues, he made her not only charming but indeed perfect and worthy to be worshipped and adored.⁶

Such an ideal was admirably suited to the tastes of Elizabeth's court. The queen was very fond of entertainment and gaiety. A scholar and musician herself, she exacted a high standard in wit and in music of her ladies.⁷ But she also insisted that her court have a reputation for moderation, for seemly behavior, and for morality. Thus she checked the bold and insolent manner of

⁴See William Bercher, The Nobyltye of Wymen ("Roxburghe Club," CXL [London, 1904]), 154-55.

⁵As quoted in J. B. Fletcher, The Religion of Beauty in Women (New York, 1911), p. 8.

⁶Baldassarre Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, trans. Sir Thomas Hoby ("Everyman Edition"; London: John Dent & Sons [1928]), pp. 190 ff.

⁷John Nichols, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth (London, 1778), II, 50.

Lady Mary Howard,⁸ censured the court for its extravagant way of living after the Duke of Alençon's visit,⁹ and dealt summarily with those who were indiscreet enough to make secret marriages.¹⁰

Elizabeth and her court loved flattery, and what greater compliment could be paid to them than to praise them in terms of the perfect court lady? Sir Thomas Hoby in his translation of Castiglione's book stated that these ideals were followed by some of the court,¹¹ while Bartholomew Clerk in his Latin translation of the same book gracefully dedicated it to the Queen--England's illustrious example of the ideal court lady. Translations of this Italian book ran into many editions,¹² and imitations and adaptations of the courtly ideal it represented appeared in numbers throughout Elizabeth's reign.¹³ In the collections of poetry

⁸ Sir John Harington et al, Nugae Antiquae (London, 1804), I, 232 ff.

⁹ Nichols, Progresses of Elizabeth, II, 48.

¹⁰ Violet Wilson, Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour and Ladies of the Privy Chamber (London, 1922), pp. 172-75, 180-81, 187-98; C. A. Stopes, Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 122-35; Lady Anne Newdigate-Newdegate, Gossip from a Muniment Room (London, 1898), pp. 29-52; Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, 1591-1594, p. 105.

¹¹ Castiglione, The Courtier, pp. 2, 5.

¹² Castiglione, The Courtier, trans. T. Hoby, 1561, 1577; ed.--The Courtier of Count E. Castilio (Italian, French, and English in parallel columns), 1588; Latin ed. 1571, 1577, 1585, 1593. Other Italian courtesy books containing these ideals were: Giovanni Battista Nenna, Nennio, 1595; ed. A Discourse Whether a Noble Man by Birth or a Gentleman by Desert Is Greater in Nobilitie, trans. William Jones, 1600; Annibale Romei, The Courtiers Academie, trans. J[ohn] K[epers], [1598].

¹³ The following editions of some of these books are recorded:

Collections of Poetry--Clement Robinson, A Handefull of Pleasant Delites, 1584; Richard Edwardes, The Paradyse of Dainty Devises, 1576, 1578, 1580, 1580, 1585, ed. The Paradyce of Dainty Devises, 1596, [1598?], 1600; Thomas Proctor, A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions, 1578; The Phoenix Nest, 1593; Robert Allott, Englands Parnassus, 1600 (issue 1600) (issue 1600); John Bodenham, Englands Helicon, 1600; Francis Davison, A Poetical Rapsody, 1602.

Sonnet Cycles--Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Philip Sidney His Astrophel and Stella, 1591, 1591, [1591]; Samuel Daniel, Delia, 1592, Delia and Rosamund, augmented, 1594, 1595; Henry Constable, Diana, 1592, augmented 1584 (or rather 1594); Barnabe Barnes, Parthenophile and Parthenope, [1593]; Michael Drayton, Idea, 1593,

printed after 1578 women were praised for their wit, courtesy, grace, and virtue as well as for their beauty.¹⁴ Courtiers wishing to praise their mistresses wrote sonnets in which the ladies were described as fair, lovely, chaste, sweet-spoken, learned, and witty.¹⁵ Novelists wishing to tell the love story of the court lady followed the rules of conduct given to her by Castiglione in his discussion of the game of love. By jesting and feigning to misunderstand her fond suitors' praises she was to safeguard herself against the flattery of false lovers.¹⁶ But after judging her lover dispassionately and after testing his love by long and faithful service she was to show herself "tractable, lowly and sweet in language, and as willing to please him, as to be beloved of him."¹⁷ Such love was always to end in marriage. This is, in the main, the story of Camilla in Lyly's Euphues His England, of Pamela in Sidney's Arcadia, of Britomart in Spenser's The Faerie Queene, and of Rosalynde in Lodge's novel of that name.

Ideas Mirror, 1594; Thomas Lodge, Phyllis, 1593; Giles Fletcher, Licia, [1593?]; Edmund Spenser, Amoretti, 1595; Robert T[o]fte, Laura, 1597.

Romances--John Lyly, Euphues; The Anatomy of Wyt, [1578], [1579], 1579, 1580, 1581, 1585, 1587, [1590?], [1595?], [1597?]; Euphues and His England, 1580, 1580, 1580, 1581, 1585, 1586, 1588, 1597, 1601; Robert Greene, Arbasto, 1584, 1584 (issue), 1589, 1594; Gwydonius, 1584, 1593; Pandosto, 1588, 1592, 1595; Menaphon, 1589, 1599; Ciceronis Amor, Tullies Love, 1589, 1597, 1601; Sidney, The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia, 1590, 1590 (issue), 1593, 1598, 1599; Spenser, The Faerie Queene, 1590 (Bks. I-III), 1596 (six books); Robert Lodge, Rosalynde, Euphues Golden Legacie, 1590, 1592, 1596, 1598; A Margarite of America, 1596.

Plays--Lyly, Campaspe, acted at court 1584; Sappho and Phao, acted 1582, printed 1584; Endimion, acted 1586, printed 1591; Gallathea, acted 1586, printed 1592; Greene, Historie of James the Fourth, printed 1598; Shakespeare, Loves Labour Lost, printed 1598, Midsommer Nights Dreams, printed 1600; Much Ado, printed 1600.

¹⁴Robinson, A Handful of Pleasant Delights, ed. H. E. Rollins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), p. 38, l. 1061; Proctor, A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions, ed. H. E. Rollins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 56, l. 29; p. 24, ll. 24-29; The Phoenix Nest, ed. H. E. Rollins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 61, ll. 14-15; p. 69, ll. 17-21; p. 71, ll. 28 ff.; p. 74, ll. 30 ff.; p. 82, ll. 20 ff.

¹⁵Lodge, Phyllis, stanza xx, l. 9; Barnaby Barnes, Parthenophil and Parthenope, stanza xxviii, l. 12.

¹⁶Castiglione, The Courtier, pp. 237-38.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 314.

These heroines delighted all by their great beauty, courtesy, wit, and pleasant manner¹⁸ and by their great virtue were ideal court ladies. There were other heroines who, although they possessed all save one or two of these qualities, proved wanton, discourteous, or foolish, and thus unworthy to be loved. Lucilla in Lyly's Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit, lacking judgment in the choice of her lover and constancy in love, proved the wanton.¹⁹ Amoret, Belpheobe, and Florimell in The Faerie Queene, Philoclea in The Arcadia, and Margarite in Lodge's A Margarite of America by their lack of wisdom and poise were far from the ideal of court ladies. In the stories of Medina and her two sisters and in that of Phaedria, Spenser portrayed the discourteous and foolish court lady.

Dramatists wishing to compliment the court wrote plays in which the heroine followed this ideal of the beautiful, witty, charming, and virtuous court lady. The heroines of Lyly's plays were, moreover, intended to be graceful portraits of the various ladies at Elizabeth's court.²⁰ Cynthia in Endimion and Sappho in Sappho and Phao were Lyly's interpretation of the ideal lady. Semele in Endimion and Melitta in Sappho and Phao represent the witty court lady. Campaspe, in the play of that name, in all save nobility of birth was the ideal set forth by Castiglione. Shakespeare in his early romantic comedies showed his enthusiasm for this ideal. While Beatrice might be the very witty court lady, Olivia the very dignified lady, Princess Rosaline, Portia, Rosalynde, and Viola, by their sprightliness and wit, their courtesy and charm were fine interpretations of the Italian ideal of the perfect court lady.

In spite of the popularity of this ideal there was evident, at the close of the century, a reaction against this ideal and, in fact, against any idealization of women. Satirists ridiculed

¹⁸For a description of other court heroines see Robert Greene, Works, ed. A. B. Grosart (London, 1880), III, 189-91; VI, 62-64, 70, 113, 128-29, 130 ff.; VII, 36, 78-79.

¹⁹For the relation of this story to similar tales by Gascoigne, Whetstone, and Grange, see Percy W. Long, "From 'Troilus' to 'Euphues,'" Kittredge Anniversary Papers (Boston, 1913).

²⁰For Bond's discussion of the allegory of each play, see John Lyly, Complete Works (Oxford, 1902), II, 256 ff.

the mistress of the conventional sonnet²¹ and mocked the affected discourse of the "Arcadian" and "Euphuized" gentlewomen.²² Fantastic and foolish court ladies were censured by Jonson in his plays, Every Man Out of His Humour and Cynthia's Revels. Donne and Chapman went so far as to assert that all women were fickle and inconstant by nature. Aemilia in May Day, Elimine, Samathis, and Martia in The Blind Beggar of Alexandria, and even the puritanical Countess Florilla in A Humorous Day's Mirth were shown by an intriguer to be weak and sensuous.

Such an attitude towards court ladies indicates that some reform of the court might be necessary, and historical records affirm this. Elizabeth was getting old, and the generation of maids of honor which appeared at court toward the close of the century was a forward and disrespectful one.²³ Even the old standards of loyalty and service seem to have disappeared when such ladies as the Countess of Northumberland and Lady Penelope Rich dare to take an active part in conspiracies against the queen.²⁴

James I came to the throne at this critical juncture and little reform of the court might be expected from him. He and his queen were excessively fond of splendid spectacles and costly entertainment. Anne as queen was observed to lack the dignity of Elizabeth,²⁵ and James himself was known to have taken a notori-

²¹Sir John Davies, "Gulling Sonnets," No. 5, in Complete Poems (London, 1876), II, 59; Joseph Hall, Virgidemiarum, Bk. I, satire vii; ibid., Bk. VI, satire i; John Donne, "Elegie," xiii, in Poems (Oxford, 1912), I, 104-05; Samuel Rowlands, The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine, epigram xv, in Complete Works ([Glasgow], 1880), I, 21.

²²Thomas Dekker, The Guls Horne-Booke, chap. vi, in Non-Dramatic Works (London, 1885), II, 254; Michael Drayton, Works (Oxford: Shakespeare Head Press, 1932), III, 228; Ben Jonson, Every Man Out of His Humour, in Complete Plays ("Everyman Edition"; New York, 1910), I, 85; ibid., I, III.

²³Harington, Nugae Antiquae, I, 232; J. E. Neale, Queen Elizabeth (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934), pp. 327 ff.

²⁴Maud S. Rawson, Penelope Rich and Her Circle (London, 1911), pp. 226-30; V. Wilson, Society Women in Shakespeare's Time (London: John Lane [1924]), pp. 109, 133-36; Sir Robert Cecil, Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI, King of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1766), pp. 33 ff.

²⁵Cardinal Bentivoglio, Description of England, 1609, as quoted in Lucy Aikin, Memoirs of the Court of King James I (London, 1822), I, 334.

ously indecorous part in some of these entertainments.²⁶ In his choice of his favorites and in his attitude toward court scandals, the king seemed to condone immorality rather than to check it.²⁷ There was, however, a romantic aspect of this court. Against this background of continual splendor and magnificence an interest in the revival of medieval chivalry appeared. The young Prince Henry and his sister, Princess Elizabeth, took an enthusiastic part in this. The prince by daily practice became an expert in jousting and in the tourney as well as in dancing.²⁸ Such was the charm of the princess, called the Queen of Hearts, that she won the affection of all.²⁹ When, in later years, she became involved in that disastrous tangle of wars over Bohemia, the chivalry she had inspired in English courtiers caused them to enlist in that volunteer army eager to fight for the honor of their princess.³⁰

What ideal did the court lady at James's court follow? Now more than ever must she be, like the court lady of chivalric times, an adept in the art of pleasing all. Skill in courtly accomplishments, especially in music and dancing, and some knowledge of French were necessary for those who wished to be successful in the Stuart court.³¹ Plunged into a round of gaiety, she would find little need of the moral virtues which were to distinguish the ideal Elizabethan court lady. Expediency and shrewd wit seem to have replaced sturdy loyalty and faithful service to

²⁶ Harington, *Nugae Antiquae*, I, 351-52.

²⁷ Ibid., I, 390; Robert F. Williams (ed.), *Court and Times of James the First* (London, 1848), I, 261; A. J. Kempe (ed.), *The Loseley Manuscripts* (London, 1835), p. 385; John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, His Royal Consort, Family and Court* (London, 1828), III, 371-72.

²⁸ Williams, *Court and Time of James*, I, 133; Nichols, *Progresses of James*, II, 495 ff.

²⁹ Ibid., I, 429; *ibid.*, II, 515, 537-605; Mary A. E. Green, *Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia* (London, 1909), pp. 17-18, 15-16, 24, 35, 41, 54 ff.

³⁰ James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae; The Familiar Letters* (London, 1892), I, 112; *Calendar of State Papers Venetian, 1619-1621*, pp. 177-206, 221, 223-30, 297, 306.

³¹ M. Green, *Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia*, p. 9; *Autobiography of Anne, Lady Halkett* ("Camden Society," XIII [Westminster 1875], 2; *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe* (London, 1907), p. 55; Kathleen Lambley, *The French Language in England* (Manchester, 1920), p. 263.

the queen. The career of the fantastic Lucy, Duchess of Bedford, is an illustration of this.³² Though sent on secret missions by the king and involved in many intrigues, she managed to keep her high position at court. She was one of those who introduced the new favorite, Villiers, to the king, and so seemed to be successful when she solicited for favors. Although one of Anne's favorite attendants, she expressed her disapproval of the Queen's dismissal of the Countess of Roxburghe and retired from the court. Later, observing the rise of the Duchess of Lennox and Richmond, she astutely sued to become one of her chief attendants. Thus by sophistication and flattery, worldliness, and shrewd wit might the Stuart court lady succeed in her career.

Court ladies who wished instruction and advice in the difficult and hazardous ways of court life would find little to guide them in the courtesy books of this period.³³ Writers of these books were concerned with giving advice to the ambitious courtier, and they make very little mention of women. Young noblemen were warned that the favor of women was a hazard at court, not an advantage, since women were so quickly in and out of favor with the prince.³⁴ One writer while admitting that the company of good women might be of use to the courtier wishing to become accomplished in the art of discourse, nevertheless warned them of the

³² J. H. Wiffen, Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell (London, 1833), II, 66-123; Nichols, Progresses of James, III, 756, 782-83; IV, 965, 1009; The Private Correspondence of Jane Lady Cornwallis, 1613-44 (London, 1842), pp. 44-45, 47, 50, 57, 58.

³³ James I, Basillicon Doron, or His Majesties Instruction to His Dearest Sonne Henry the Prince, 1603, 1603, 1603, 1603, 1603, 1603, 1604, 1624; Lorenzo Ducci, Ars Aulica, or The Courtiers Arte, 1607; James Cleland, Hropaidsela; or The Institution of a Young Noble Man, 1607; Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Instructions to His Son, 1609; Eustache du Refuge, A Treatise of the Court or Instructions for Courtiers, trans. John Reynolds, 1622; William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Certaine Precepts or Directions for the Well Ordering of a Man's Life, 1617, 1618; Antonio Guevara, The Diall of Princes, 1619; A. D. B., The Court of the Most Illustrious James the First, 1619, 1620; Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Walter Raleighs Instructions to His Sonne a. to Posteritie, 1632 (he died in 1618).

³⁴ Lorenzo Ducci, Ars Aulica or The Courtiers Arte, trans. E. Blount (London, 1607), pp. 204 ff.; Du Refuge, A Treatise of the Court or Instructions for Courtiers, trans. John Reynolds (London, 1622), pp. 174-79.

dangers in seeking this company too often.³⁵ Others merely gave courtiers instructions on the choice of a wife and agreed that women were inferior creatures and not to be given an important place in any man's life.³⁶

Literature reflected the two aspects of James's court. Some writers cynical in their attitude towards women wrote satire ridiculing the court lady or comedies in which the heroines were bold, outspoken, and sensuous.³⁷ Others turned to the writing of romantic novels and plays which analyzed the chivalric ideals of love and honor in which the court was interested. In these latter plays a high regard for honor was evident in the impassioned speeches made by heroines on the subject³⁸ and by the sacredness with which vows were made and held.³⁹ Women who involved the honor of their whole family by loss of chastity sought revenge or instigated their families to do so.⁴⁰ Women who were so sensitive about honor went to heroic lengths to defend it and even felt disgraced if any suspicion or doubt were cast upon it.⁴¹ So

³⁵ James Cleland, Hropaideia, The Institution of a Young Noble Man (London, 1607), pp. 244-45. Cf. Guevara, The Diall of Princes, trans. Sir T. North (London, 1619), pp. 628, 634-35.

³⁶ Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Advice to His Son (London: E. Benn, [1930]), pp. 92-96; Cleland, p. 44.

³⁷ John Donne, "Love's Alchymie"; Harington, "Epigram 7"; Jonson, "An Epigram on the Court Pucell," Underwoods. See also George Chapman, The Widow's Tears [printed 1612]; John Day, The Isle of Gulls [ca. 1606]; John Marston, Parasitaster [ca. 1604-06]; Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, The Wild Goose Chase [acted 1621].

³⁸ Beaumont and Fletcher, The Maid in the Mill [licensed 1623], III, 111; Philip Massinger, The Virgin Martyr [ca. 1620], IV, 1; Cyril Tourneur, The Revenger's Tragedy [1606-07], IV, iv; Massinger, The Renegado [acted 1624], IV, 11.

³⁹ For dilemmas caused by such vows see; Nathaniel Field, A Woman Is a Weathercock [1609?], III, 11; Beaumont and Fletcher, The Island Princess [acted 1621-22], II, vii; Lewis Machin and Gervase Markham, The Dumb Knight [1607-08], III, 1; Chapman, The Gentleman Usher [1602?], IV, 1.

⁴⁰ The Second Maiden's Tragedy [1611], IV, iv; Tourneur, Revenger's Tragedy, I, 1; Massinger, The Renegado, I, 1; Beaumont and Fletcher, The Queen of Corinth [before 1618], II, 11; III, 11.

⁴¹ Day, Law-Trickes, II, 1; Chapman, Monsieur D'Olive [1604], I, 1; Massinger, The Duke of Milan [ca. 1620], IV, 111; [Beaumont and Fletcher], The Faithful Friends [ca. 1614], II, 1;

imbued were all with this punctilious regard for honor that in some plays it seemed to be the mainspring of all action. Thus in The Bondman [acted 1623], Leosthenes, the man of valor, left to win honor on the field of battle; Cleora, his mistress, took a heroic vow to remain blind and dumb until his return; while Marullo assumed the dishonorable rank of slave in order to remain near her and protect her honor. In The Knight of Malta [1617?] honor involved the characters in such a tangled story that the only honorable solution was that in which the hero remained true to his vows of knighthood and the heroine to her vows of matrimony. All that was left for such lovers was a platonic, a spiritual, love. According to these writers the only force which rivalled that of honor was that of love. In some of the courtly novels which appeared about 1620 love is shown sweeping away all ties of duty, friendship, marriage, and even honor. The characters find entertainment in discussing the various questions of love and in their lives illustrate the force of this passion. The heroines, beautiful, gracious, and charming, resemble the ideal court lady in Castiglione's book, but in their submission to love they lack the moral character which distinguished that earlier lady. They seem to have substituted expediency for virtue and variety in love for constancy.⁴² In some plays love caused men and women to forget honor and duty, to forswear revenge for honor and betray loyal friends.⁴³ Moods of exaltation and renunciation came to some of love's victims.⁴⁴ Punishment followed

IV, 1; Field, A Woman Is a Weathercock, II, 1; [Thomas Heywood], The Captives, III, iii; IV, iii.

⁴² Nicolas de Montreux, Honours Academie, trans. R. T[olte] (London, 1610), pp. 35-39, 1820-36; Honoré D'Urfé, Astrae, trans. by a Person of Quality (London, 1658), Part I, Bk. I, pp. 25, 36-38, 162 ff.; Part II, Bk. I, pp. 2 ff., 114; Lady Mary Wroth, The Countess of Mountgomerie's Urania (London [1621]), pp. 146 ff., 316 ff., 326 ff., 356 ff., 423.

⁴³ For plays dealing with the theme of heroic love see; Beaumont and Fletcher, The Knight of Malta, The Lovers Progress, The Sea Voyage [licensed 1622], The Island Princess, Love's Cure; Massinger, The Bondman, The Parliament of Love [acted 1624], The Virgin Martyr; Field, A Woman Is a Weathercock, Amends for Ladies [1611].

⁴⁴ Field, A Woman Is a Weathercock, II, 1; Field, Amends for Ladies, V, iii; Massinger, The Parliament of Love, V, 1; Beaumont and Fletcher, The Lover's Progress, III, iii. This is

those who opposed love or broke any of its laws.⁴⁵ Love, then, was thought to be an unconquerable force and any resistance to it was regarded as foolish and disastrous.

What was the court attitude towards these ideals of love and honor? Plays dealing with these themes were fashionable at court.⁴⁶ Jonson, who dared to satirize such ideals in The New Inn and The Magnetic Lady, found both himself and these plays decidedly unpopular. There is evidence that fantastic court ladies attempted to follow these heroic ideals in their living. Lady Mary Wroth in her novel, The Countess of Mountgomerie's Urania, which dealt with such ideals, caused much bitterness and scandal by drawing her material from the lives of her contemporaries.⁴⁷ The sophisticated old courtier, Sir John Harington, was shocked at the behavior of James's court and mocked the so-called "heroic" virtues of the court ladies.⁴⁸ Wither, describing his ideal mistress, states quite clearly that she neither possessed nor favored any of these court virtues.⁴⁹ Country gentlewomen were warned neither to come to the court nor to follow its fashions if they wished to keep their virtue and good name.⁵⁰ In Elizabeth's reign the ideals of the court had been admired and the ideal of the court lady had been worshipped for its perfection. But in

the theme of such plays as Machin and Markham, The Dumb Knight and Beaumont and Fletcher, Cupids Revenge [1611-12].

⁴⁵Beaumont and Fletcher, The Knight of Malta, V, i; The Lover's Progress, III, iii. This is the theme of Massinger's play The Virgin Martyr.

⁴⁶See Mary Steele, Plays and Masques at Court during the Reigns of Elizabeth, James and Charles ("Cornell Studies in English," No. 5 [London: Oxford University Press, 1926]).

⁴⁷Williams, Court and Times of James, II, 298.

⁴⁸Harington, Nugae Antiquae, I, 351-52; Harington, Letters and Epigrams (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1930), p. 291.

⁴⁹George Wither, "Fair Virtue, The Mistress of Philarete," Juvenilia, Part III ("Spenser Society," XI [London, 1871]), 727-854.

⁵⁰Tom Powell, Tom of All Trades or The Plaine Pathway to Preferment ("Shakespeare Society," Series VI, No. 2 [London, 1876]), p. 173; Richard Braithwaite, The English Gentleman; and The English Gentlewoman (London, 1641), p. 397. Cf. Marston, Parasitaster, or The Fawne, IV, i, 83; Barnabe Rich, The Honestie of This Age, p. 23, in Early English Poetry, Ballads ("Percy Society," Vol. XI [London, 1844]); Alexander Niccholes, Discourse of Marriage and Wiving [1615], in Harleian Miscellany (London, 1809), III, 266 ff.

James's time such were the fantastic and "heroic" ideals held by the court that satirists and conservative men alike condemned them for their lack of virtue.

In striking contrast with this reaction against the ideals of the court lady which had developed in the seventeenth century there was a steady and increasing popularity of the ideal of the good wife during this same period. Lawrence Humphrey in his book The Nobles, printed in Latin in 1560, and in English in 1563, upheld the belief that women were not ideal creatures, but human beings designed to fill a distinct place in society--that of the good wife. This was the old domestic ideal of women which had found such favor with the early humanists. Humphrey was not the only exponent of this view, for writers of domestic books, of books on husbandry, philosophy, and even satire joined in this praise of the good wife. Although such works had appeared at not infrequent intervals throughout the century, there seemed to be an increased demand for them from 1580 on.

Reprints and new translations of old domestic books were published,⁵¹ and contemporary treatises of this type were written.⁵² In these books men were exhorted to take great care in the choice of a wife and in the governing of her after marriage,

⁵¹The following editions printed between 1561 and 1603 are recorded:

Thomas Becon, "New Catechism," Works, 1562, 1564; Desiderius Erasmus, Modest Means to Marriage Pleasantly Set Forth, trans. N. L[eigh], 1568; Xenophon, Xenophons Treatise on the Householde, trans. G. Hervet, 1573; Heinrich Bullinger, The Christen State of Matrimonye, 1575; Joannes L. Vives, A Very Frutefull and Pleasant Boke Called The Instruction of a Christen Woman, trans. Richard Hyrde, 1585, 1592.

⁵²Editions printed between 1561 and 1603:

Edmund Tilney, A Brief and Pleasaunt Discourse of Duties in Mariage, 1568, 1571, 1577; Matthew Parker, An Admonition to All Such as Shall Intend to Enter the State of Matrimony, 1574, 1594; Edward Dering, A Shorte Catechisme for Householdiers, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1587, 1588, 1597, 1603; Dudley Fenner, Order of the Household; in The Artes of Logike and Rhetorike, 1584, [1588]; Pierre Viret, The Schoole of Beastes, 1585; Torquato Tasso, The Householdiers Philosophie. Whereunto Is Annexed a Dairie Booke, trans. T. Klyd], 1588; Leonard Wright, A Display of Dutie, Dect with Sage Sayings, 1589, 1602; Henry Smith, A Preparative to Marriage, 1591, 1591, 1591; Josias Nichols, The Order of Household Instruction, 1596; Robert Cleaver, A Godly Form of Household Government, 1598, 1598, 1600; Tasso, Of Marriage and Wiving, trans. R. T[ofte], 1599. There was also a Latin edition of William Perkins, Christian Oeconomie, in 1590.

while women were commanded to be obedient, patient, and loving wives. Such writers were concerned with women only as they appeared in their proper place--the home.⁵³ The practical aspects of the life of the good housewife were described in books on husbandry.⁵⁴ According to Fitzherbert, the duties of a good wife were; to love her husband, to fear God, to be a good neighbor, to be frugal, and, above all, to govern her house well. He carefully instructed her in the activities which this last duty involved. Thus he discussed the management of the house, of the dairy and of the garden, the superintending of the spinning, the weaving, the brewing, the making of hay and so on.⁵⁵ Googe, in his translation of Heresbach's book on husbandry, presented the quieter and more peaceful side of country life rather than its busy and thriving aspect. He believed that husbandry was an honorable, even a divine, profession; for in pursuit of it a man was busy, happy, and content. His description of the wife of the husbandman was that of the Christian ideal of the good wife busy at her household tasks, not the least of which was to further the religious welfare of her household.⁵⁶

⁵³For summaries of the treatises by Smith, Cleaver, and Tilney, see C. H. Powell, English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653 (New York, 1917), pp. 132, 143 ff., 178; T. F. Crane, Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), pp. 506-11. Cf. William Perkins, Christen Oeconomie (London, 1609), pp. 125, 173 ff.

⁵⁴The following editions before 1603 are recorded:
John Fitzherbert, [Book of Husbandry] Here Begynneth A Newe Tracte or Treatyse Moost Profytable for All Husbände Men, [1523], [1525?], [1534], [1541], [1547], 1548, [1555], [1560], 1562, 1568, 1598; Thomas Tusser, A Hundreth Good Pointes of Husbandrie, 1557, 1570, 1571; augmented to Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandrie, 1573, 1573, 1573, 1574, 1577, 1580, 1585, 1586, 1590, 1593, 1597, 1599; Conrad Heresbach, Foure Bookes of Husbandry, trans. Barnaby Googe, 1577, 1578, 1586, 1596, 1601 (Latin versions of Heresbach are recorded for 1570, 1571, 1573, 1578); Prudent le Choyselet, Discourse of Husbandrie, 1577, 1580; Charles Estienne and Jean Liebault, Maison rustique or The Countrie Farm, trans. R. Surflot, 1600. For a full list of English writers on agriculture, see Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges, Censura Literaria (London, 1805), II, 136-45, 211-26.

⁵⁵Fitzherbert, Book of Husbandry ("English Dialect Society," XXII [London, 1882]), 93-101; cf. Tusser, Five Hundreth Pointes of Good Husbandrie ("English Dialect Society," XIII [London, 1878]), 163-85.

⁵⁶Heresbach, Four Bookes of Husbandrie, trans. and increased by Barnaby Googe (London, 1614), fols. 158^v-159^r.

After 1560 there was an increased interest in philosophy. Collections of the sayings of philosophers had long been popular⁵⁷ and continued to be printed throughout the century.⁵⁸ Translations of the writings of classical and medieval,⁵⁹ as well as contemporary philosophers⁶⁰ were made while, towards the close of the century, English philosophical treatises were printed.⁶¹ In

⁵⁷For a discussion of this see Elsa Chapin, "Literary Interests of Sir Thomas Bryan" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of English, University of Chicago, 1930), pp. 146 ff.

⁵⁸John Marbecke, A Booke of Notes and Common Places, 1581; Thomas Twyne, The Garlande of Godly Flowers, 1574, 1580, 1602; Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Golden Epistles, 1575, 1577, 1582; Ludovico Guicciardini, The Garden of Pleasure, trans. J. Sandford, 1573, another ed.--Houres of Recreation or After Dinners, Which May Aptly Be Called The Garden of Pleasure, 1576; Pietro Martire Vermigli, The Common Places of Peter Martyr, trans. A. Marten, 1583; John Bodenham, Politeuphuia. Wits Commonwealth, 1597, 1598; (also in Short Title Catalogue as Nicolas Ling, Politeuphuia Wits Commonwealth, 1597, 1598); Robert Allott, Wits Theater of the Little World, 1599; Francis Meres, Palladis Tamia; Wits Treasury, Being the Second Part of Wits Commonwealth, 1598.

⁵⁹Epictetus, Manuell of Epictetus, trans. J. Sandford, 1567; Cornelius Valerius, The Casket of Jewels, trans. J. C[harlton]; Petrarch, Physicke against Fortune, trans. T. T[wyne], 1579; Plutarch, Three Morell Treatises, trans. T. Blundeville, 1580; Bartholomeus Anglicus, Batman Uppon Bartholome His Booke De proprietatibus rerum, enlarged and amended, 1582; Plutarch, A Philosophicall Treatise Concerning the Quietnes of the Mind, trans. J. Clapham, 1589; Doni, Morell Philosophy, trans. Sir Thomas North, 1570, 1601; Plutarch, The Philosophy Commonlie Called The Morals, trans. Philemon Holland, 1603.

⁶⁰[Tommaso Leoni], The Boke of Wysdome Otherwise Called The Flower of Virtue, trans. John Larke, 1586; Estienne Pasquier, Monophylo, A Philosophical Discourse of Love, trans. Sir Geoffrey Fenton, 1572; Pierre Boaistuau, Theatrum mundi, The Theatre or Rule of the World, trans. J. Alday, [1566?], 1574, 1581; Matthieu Cointet, Politique Discourse upon Trueth and Lying, trans. Sir E. Hoby, 1586; Peter de la Primaudaye, The French Academie, trans. J. B[owes], 1586, 1589, 1594, 1602; The Second Part of The French Academie, trans. out of the second ed., 1594; The Third Volume of The French Academie, Englished by R. Dolman, 1601; Bartholome Felippe, The Counsellor, trans. J. T[horius], 1589; Louis le Roy, Of the Interchangeable Course of Things in the Whole World, trans. R. Alshley], 1594; Juan de Dios Huarte Navarro, Examen de ingenios, The Examination of Mens Wits, trans. R. O[arew], 1594, 1594 (issue), 1594 (issue), 1596; Guillaume du Vair, The Moral Philosophie of the Stoicks, 1598. There was also an English version of Jean Taffin's Amendment of Life, 1595.

⁶¹William Fulbecke, A Booke of Christian Ethicks, 1587; William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, The Marques Idlenes, 1586, 1587; Sir Francis Bacon, Essayes, 1597, 1598; Sir Richard

these treatises the ideal of the good wife was presented from a sociological point of view. Marriage was regarded as a social custom which had developed as a result of the difference in the constitution and abilities of the two sexes. Women, physically weak, were endowed with an instinct for preserving and hoarding, while men, with stronger physique, had the instinct to fight for food and property. The partnership which grew up between the two sexes was further welded together by the mental ability of men to lead and women to follow. Happiness in marriage, then, consisted in a thoughtful consideration of these facts. Men were to be forbearing, remembering that women were weak, while women were to be loving and obedient, remembering that men were destined to rule. Thus these writers praised the modest, chaste, and virtuous good wife and condemned the evil wife or shrew.⁶²

During Elizabeth's reign many satirists eulogized the good wife and ridiculed the shrew. Not content with ridiculing the vanity of foolish women in their dress, some writers analyzed the motives and consequences of such folly and concluded that vanity and immorality went hand in hand.⁶³ Others in a humorous fashion described all the tricks and wiles of the shrew.⁶⁴ In all this satire women were judged by the standard of the good wife, and those who failed through vanity, folly, and shrewishness to follow this ideal were condemned.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, while philosophers, churchmen, writers on husbandry, and satirists were up-

Barckley, A Discourse of the Felicitie of Man, 1598; William Vaughan, The Golden Grove, 1600; William Cornwallis, the Younger, Essays, 1600, 1601.

⁶²Guicciardini, Hours of Recreation, trans. J. Sandford (London, 1576), p. 28; Petrarch, Physicke against Fortune, trans. T. T[wyne] (London, 1579), pp. 89-91; William Paulet, Third Marquis of Winchester, The Lord Marques Idlenes (London, 1587), pp. 76-79; Barckley, The Felicitie of Man (London, 1631), p. 450; Taffin, The Amendment of Life (London, 1595), pp. 292-93.

⁶³Philip Stubbes, Anatomie of Abuses, Part I ("New Shakespeare Society," Series VI, No. 4 [London, 1877]), pp. 63-83; Thomas Nashe, Anatomy of Absurditie, in Works, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1910), I, 18; Stephen Gosson, Pleasant Quippes for Upstart Gentlewomen, ll. 247-50; Lodge, Fig for Momus, satire i; Rowlands, Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine, satire iii.

⁶⁴Rowlands, Tis Merry When Gossips Meete; Sir John Davies, A Contention Betwixt a Wife, a Widow and a Maid; Dekker, A Batchelars Banquet.

holding the ideal of the good wife, others praised the ideal of the court lady. Since both ideals seem to be popular in Elizabethan times, the question naturally arises as to whether there was any sense of conflict in the theory or practice of them.

Castiglione had made it very clear that the ideal court lady must have a thorough knowledge in domestic affairs⁶⁵ but he did not give detailed information on this subject. The court lady who desired that would have to turn to the books written on the particular duties of the good wife. Such books were in harmony with Castiglione's, as they dealt with the domestic side of the life of the court lady, who was expected to be a good wife. Such an ideal was admirably suited to the exigencies of the life of the Elizabethan court lady. Her youth spent, perhaps, at court, she usually retired after marriage to her country estate. Here the tendency to become absorbed in domestic cares and religion makes the descriptions of the good wife in books on husbandry seem an actual transcript from the life of these ladies.⁶⁶

A consideration of this English custom of the nobility of living in the country led writers to modify their ideas of the education necessary for women. Realizing that many noble women never went up to court, men such as Salter advised that such women be educated along the lines Vives advocated so that they might become merely good wives.⁶⁷ Mulcaster decided that the amount of education needed depended upon the inclination and rank of the girl. Thus he saw no reason why those of the higher nobility and

⁶⁵Castiglione, The Courtier, pp. 184, 190; cf. Annibale Romei, The Courtiers Academie, trans. J[ohn] K[lepers] [London, 1598], p. 238.

⁶⁶See Diary of Lady Anne Clifford, ed. V. Sackville-West (London: William Heineman Ltd., 1924); The Lives of Philip Earl of Arundel and of Anne Dacres His Wife (London, 1857); Selections from the Household Books of Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle ("Surtees Society, Vol. LXVIII [London, 1835]"); Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, ed. Dorothy Meads (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1930); Frances C. Young, Mary Sidney Countess of Pembroke (London, 1912); Rachel Weigall, "An Elizabethan Gentlewoman. The Journal of Lady Mildmay, ca. 1570-1617," Quarterly Review, CCIV (July-Oct., 1911), 119-39; V. Wilson, Society Women in Shakespeare's Time, pp. 53 ff., 138 ff.

⁶⁷Thomas Salter, A Mirrhor Mete for All Mothers, Matrons, and Maidens, Entituled The Mirrhor of Modestie (1579), in J. P. Collier (ed.), Illustrations of Old English Poetry (London, 1866), Vol. I.

well-to-do families should not become, if they wished, paragons in learning. But for the average gentlewoman he suggested a training which included reading, writing, playing on the lute, singing, and a study of the languages.⁶⁸ These opinions on education he justified by the fact that they had already become the custom of the country;⁶⁹ and the fine compliments paid to the Elizabethan Lady for her skill in languages and her interest in music seems to confirm this statement.⁷⁰

While one custom of the country might be to encourage women to take an interest in education, another required them to follow the standard of the good wife in their daily living. One of the most important counsels given to good wives was that, if they were so unfortunate as to make an unhappy marriage, they must continue to live virtuously and not seek divorce. Husbands might be won by virtuous conduct and, even if they were not, wives would have the comfort of well-doing and of winning immortal fame for their virtue.⁷¹ Elizabethan court ladies seem to have followed this advice and endured a humiliating and heart-breaking existence without thought of divorce. Perhaps the most famous of these unhappy virtuous wives was Anne, Countess of Oxford.⁷²

In theory and practice, then, the ideals of the court lady and the good wife were in harmony at this time. Even in

⁶⁸Richard Mulcaster, Positions (1581), ed. R. H. Quick (London, 1888), pp. 179-81.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 167.

⁷⁰Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1577-1578, p. 350; Brydges, Restituta (London, 1814), I, 500; Clara, Comtesse de Chambrun, Giovanni Florio un apôtre de la Renaissance en Angleterre à l'époque de Shakespeare (Paris, 1921), pp. 190, 201; John Smythe, The Berkeley Manuscripts (Gloucester, 1884), II, 283; Frances Young, Mary Sidney, pp. 123 ff.; William Harrison, Description of England in Shakespeare's Youth ("New Shakespeare Society," Series VI, No. 1 [London, 1877]), p. 196.

⁷¹See Fulke Greville, Lord Brooks, "Letter to an Honourable Lady," in Works, ed. A. Grosart (Blackstone, 1870), IV, 293 ff.

⁷²See Edward Nares, Memoirs of the Life and Administration of William Cecil, Lord Burghley (London, 1830), II, 176-78; III, 359; B. M. Ward, The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, 1550-1604 (London: John Murray, [1928]), pp. 122-26. Cf. Diary of Anne Clifford, pp. xxii-xxiv, xxix ff; Stopes, Life of Henry, Earl of Southampton, pp. 3-4, 7-18; Diary of John Manningham ("Camden Society," XCIX [Westminster, 1868]), 60-61.

literature this was evident; for, while many writers eulogized the court lady for her court accomplishments, others did not neglect to praise her as a good wife.⁷³ Stories of loving and faithful wives had long been popular, and versions of the life of Griselda⁷⁴ and many variants on the theme of the good wife continued to be printed in the Elizabethan period.⁷⁵ But in the novels of Greene and in some of the plays written at the end of the century, this material was handled in a new manner. An effort was made to describe the good wife in detail, giving an account of her training as a girl, analyzing the motives of her conduct as a wife, and setting her in her proper background, the

⁷³Sidney, The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia, ed. A. Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 130-40; Lodge, Rosalynde, in Works (Glasgow, 1883), I, 14; Lyly, Euphues His England, pp. 455-62; Chapman, Gentleman Usher, IV, iii, 2 ff.; Allott, England's Parnassus (Oxford, 1913), pp. 232 ff.

⁷⁴The Stationers Register contains the following entries: 1565-66, The Sonnge of Paycentie Gressell to Hyr Make; An History of Meke and Pacyent Gressell; in 1568-69, The History of Pacyentie Gressell. In 1568-69, John Philip's play, Patient Grissill appeared; and in 1603, Dekker's play, The Pleasant Comedy of Patient Grissill. The last story of Gesta Romanorum reprinted in 1595, 1600, 1602 was that of Griselda.

⁷⁵The following editions are recorded:
John Partridge, The Most Famous and Worthie Historie of Lady Pandavola, 1566; Partridge, The Worthie Hystorie of the Most Noble and Vallaunt Knight Plasidas, 1566; Thomas Underdowne, The Excellent Historie of Theseus and Ariadne, 1566; W. Hubbard, The Tragicall and Lamentable Historie of Ceyx, Kinge of Thracine and Alcione His Wife, 1569; Henry Willobie, Willobie His Avis, 1594; Peter Colse, Penelope's Complaint, 1596; Francis Sable, The Fisherman's Tale, 1595; Sable, Floras Fortune, 1595. There were various stories such as "Curiatus and Horatia" in George Pettie, A Petite Palace of Pettie His Pleasure, 1566, 1569, 1575, [1580?]. There were many editions of Greene's novels in which this theme was used: Myrrour of Modestie, 1584; Pandosto, 1588, 1592, 1595; Penelope's Web, 1587, 1601; Perimedes the Blacke-Smith, 1588; Francesco's Fortune, 1590; Philomela, 1592; Never Too Late to Mend, 1590, 1600 (cf. also his play, Historie of James the Fourth). There were different versions of the Locrine story: S. H., The Lamentable Tragedy of Locrine, 1595; Lodge, The Complaint of Elstred, 1593; the anonymous play, Locrine. The story of Octavia, the Roman figure of the patient wife, was popular: Plutarch's Lives, trans. T. North, 1579, 1595, 1603, 1603 (issue), 1603 (issue); Brandon, The Virtuous Octavia, 1598; Daniel, Letter Sent from Octavia to Her Husband Marcus Antonius, 1599. There were plays on the theme of the good wife and the courtesan: Middleton, Blurt, Master Constable, 1602; How to Chuse a Good Wife from a Bad, 1602; London Prodigal, 1603; Faire Maide of Bristow, 1603; Marston, Dutch Courtesan, ca. 1603-04.

home. For details on this, writers had only to turn to the innumerable books written on domestic life by churchmen, philosophers, and educationalists. Men such as Greene who wished to please their readers would naturally turn to these popular books for reference.

One outstanding characteristic of the good wife was her knowledge of the art of housewifery. Thus Greene, telling the love story of the noble lord, Calamus, describes the heroine, Cratyna, as busy "with her maydes in the midst of her Huswif-erie."⁷⁶ More unusual was the picture of the noble lady, Penelope, spinning and working at her wool. Evidently Greene intended this industry to be taken as a symbol of her virtue, for in the following speech one of her maids commends her mistress' occupation:

Such was the love of Lucrece, that Tarquine in the absence of hir Husband found her self not idle, thereby to intertaine pleasure, but sitting amongst her maids breaking of wooll: by such huswifery to avoyde the alurements of vanitie: such was the love of the Romaine Macrina, that in the space hir Houseband Lentulus remained at the warres, she never was found from the Wheele.⁷⁷

This accomplishment of the good wife had a practical value. In the days when a good wife found herself deserted by her husband or separated from him, she could earn her own livelihood by sewing and spinning.⁷⁸

Greene's heroines were not only instructed in the household arts, but also imbued with piety in their youth. The early training of Castonia, daughter of a king, in the novel, Gwydonius, The Carde of Fancie, closely follows that advised by Vives and Salter. A widow, Melytta, was selected as the matron whose duty it was "to traine her [Castonia] up in vertue,"⁷⁹ to instruct her to live chastely, to be obedient, and to eschew idleness. In the novel Penelope's Web, Penelope seems to be following the method suggested to these matrons that they make even the most ordinary

⁷⁶Penelope's Web, in Works, V, 204.

⁷⁷Works, V, 157-58. Cf. Chapman, Poems and Minor Translations (London, 1875), II, 86, col. a, ll. 23-28.

⁷⁸See Greene, Works, V, 179, 185; VII, 51; cf. The Weakest Goeth to the Wall ("Malone Society Reprints"; London, 1912), I. 2319.

⁷⁹Works, IV, 30.

conversation instructive by taking every opportunity offered to introduce suitable precepts and stories of virtuous women. It was Penelope who checked the maids' discussion on the question of virginity, and suggested that they all describe the virtues of a good wife. She contended that no husband was so evil that he could not be won back to virtue by the chastity, obedience, and silence of his wife, and brought a ready fund of stories to prove her point.

There were instances in the writing of the time in which fathers took occasion to remind their daughters of their training to become good wives. Thus, in the play, The Scottish Historie of James IV, the king reminds his daughter, Queen Dorothea, just after her marriage that she must always act as becomes a good wife.⁸⁰ In the play, The Royal King and the Loyal Subject, Lady Isabella's father refuses to admit her to his house after her marriage if she be guilty of "loose demeanor, wanton carriage, Spouse-breach, or disobedience."⁸¹

That these heroines had learned to be good wives was shown in their conduct. One of the most important lessons impressed upon them by all writers on the subject from Erasmus down to Fulke Greville was that erring husbands must be won back to virtue by the continued patience, love, and obedience of their wives. Remembering this, the women of these later stories were no longer blindly passive as Griselda had been, but resolutely set out to win back their husbands. Philomela, in the novel of that name, was distressed by her husband's jealousy, but decided "with obedience love and silence to recover her Philippo to favor none but his Philomela."⁸² Mistress Arthur, in the play, How a Man May Chuse a Good Wife, shared this same hope and confidently remarked, when asked about her erring husband, "My vertues may in time recall him home."⁸³ To these wives the thought of revenge or di-

⁸⁰Act I, Sc. ii, ll. 4 ff.

⁸¹Thomas Heywood, The Royal King and the Loyal Subject, ed. J. P. Collier ("Shakespeare Society," VI [London, 1850]), 57, ll. 8-9; cf. Greene, Works, III, 10.

⁸²Greene, Works, XI, 122; cf. V, 162 ff.; VIII, 65.

⁸³How a Man May Chuse a Good Wife from a Bad, ed. A. E. H. Swaen (Louvain, 1912), l. 1231.

voice was entirely foreign. Thus Philomela rebuked her lover, who urged such a thing, as follows:

. . . knowest thou not that the love of a wife must not end, but by death: that the tearme of marriage is dated in the grave, that wyves should so long love and obey, as they live and drawe breath: that they should preferre their husbands honor before their life, and choose rather to die, than to see him wronged.⁸⁴

Octavia, in the play, The Virtuous Octavia, finally convinced of the utter futility of her attempts to win Antony back, resolved to follow the only course left to an honorable woman and be as "vertuous [a] wife" as he was an evil husband.⁸⁵

The authors of these novels and plays were not content to make the wife speak the language of domestic books, but they felt that they too must point the moral to the tale. In Francesco's Fortune Francesco, the husband, was won by his wife's constancy and led to say of a good wife that she was peaceable, of a good heart, well instructed, shamefast, faithful, continent, and so on.⁸⁶ The tone of the play, How a Man May Chuse a Good Wife (1602), was even more didactic. The husband was actually reformed by his wife's virtue and even the spectators were affected. Thomas Dekker in the play, The Pleasant Comedy of Patient Grissill (1603), told the story of the patient wife and heightened it by using the story of the shrewish wife in the sub-plot.

The use of material at hand in the domestic books, while obvious in the plays and novels of these writers, was half acknowledged at least by one, namely Greene. In the novel, Penelope's Web, he felt that the book was so concerned with the ideal of the good wife that some of his readers might "count [him] . . . very aeconomycall that seeke to set downe the duetie of a wife."⁸⁷ That he had good reason to fear this was evident, for his quotations from books on domestic duties were many, and his whole treatment and plan of the discussion on the miseries of marriage

⁸⁴Greene, Works, XI, 197-98. Cf. How a Man May Chuse a Good Wife, ll. 494-501; Greene, Historie of James the Fourth, V, v, 69-71.

⁸⁵Samuel Brandon, The Virtuous Octavia [1598] ("Malone Society Reprint"; London, 1909), III, l. 1093.

⁸⁶Greene, Works, VIII, 140-41. ⁸⁷Ibid., V, 146.

seemed to follow that of such writers as La Primaudaye.⁸⁸

During Elizabeth's reign the ideal of the court lady had included the ideal of the good wife, so that writers such as Sidney, Lyly, and Greene could write in praise of both ideals. But courtiers such as Fulke Greville and the Marquis of Winchester, by turning philosophers, were adopting the non-adoring attitude of La Primaudaye and others towards women. At the close of the century churchmen, such as Hall, and courtiers, such as Donne, were so daring as to satirize the false court lady, and dramatists, such as Chapman and Jonson, ventured to picture a court lady far from ideal. It remained for later writers to point out that such was the difference between the ideals of the court lady and the good wife in the seventeenth century that the two could no longer be harmonized.

During the reign of James I in England, books upholding the ideal of the good wife continued to appear. Earlier writings dealing with this ideal from the ecclesiastical point of view were reprinted⁸⁹ and many new ones were written.⁹⁰ Books on hus-

⁸⁸ Ibid., V, 159-61. Cf. Pierre de la Primaudaye, The French Academie, trans. T. B[owes] (London, 1618), pp. 462 ff.

⁸⁹ The following editions (1603-05) are recorded: Leonard Wright, A Display of Dutie, Dect with Sage Sayings, 1613, 1616, 1621; Edward Dering, A Shorte Catechisme for Householdiers with Prayers, 1603, 1611, 1614, 1617, 1620, 1625; Matthew Parker, An Admonition to All Suche as Shall Intende to Enter the State of Matrimony [1605?], 1620; William Perkins, Christian Oeconomie; or A Short Survey of the Right Manner of Ordering a Familie According to the Scriptures, trans. T. Pickering, 1609; William Whately, A Bride-Bush or A Wedding Sermon, 1617; ed.--A Bride-Bush; or A Direction for Married Persons, 1619, 1623.

⁹⁰ The Court of Good Counsel; How to Chose a Good Wife from a Bad, a Woman, a Good Husband from a Bad, 1607; Sk. B., Counsel to the Husband; to the Wife Instruction, 1608; Francis Dillingham, Christian Oeconomy or Houshold Government, 1609; Edward Topsell, The Householder, or Perfect Mann, 1609, 1610; Robert Pricke, The Doctrine of Superiority and of Subjection in Church, and Commonwealth as in Every Schoole and Private Familie, 1609; Joseph Hall, Salomons Divine Arts, 1609; Robert Snawsel, A Looking Glasse for Married Folkes, 1610; Alexander Niccholes, A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving, 1615, 1620; Thomas Gataker and W. Bradshaw, Two Marriage Sermons, 1620; Thomas Gataker, Marriage Duties, 1620; A Discourse on Married and Single Life, 1621; William Gouge, Of Domesticall Duties, 1622; T. Gataker, A Good Wife God's Gift and A Wife Indeed, 1623, 1624; T. Gataker, A Mariage Praier, 1624; William Whately, A Care-Cloth; or A Treatise of the Cumpers and Troubles of Marriage, 1624.

bandry such as those written by Tusser and Googe were also re-printed.⁹¹ Markham, a tireless writer and compiler on this subject, adapted, augmented, and reprinted many of the newer translations and treatises on husbandry, including his own books.⁹² Numerous philosophical works⁹³ and those closely related to them,

⁹¹ Editions between 1603-25: Thomas Tusser, Five Hundreth Points of Good Husbandrie, 1604, 1610, 1614, 1620; Conrad Heresbach, The Whole Art and Trade of Husbandry, enlarged by B. Googe, 1613.

⁹² William Lawson, A New Orchard and Garden, 1618, 1623; Charles Estienne and Jean Liebault, Maison rustique ou The Countrie Farms, trans. R. Surflet, 1606; ed. and augmented by Markham, 1616; Markham, Country Contentments, 1614, 1623; The English Housewife, 1631, 1637; A Way to Get Wealth, Part III, 1631, 1638. For other reprints see Short Title Catalogue, and Brydges, "Chronological List of English Writers on Agriculture," Censura Literaria, II, 136-45, 211-26.

⁹³ Reprints of earlier translations: Manuell of Epictetus, trans. J. Sandford, 1610, 1616; La Primaudaye, The Second Part of the French Academie, trans. out of the second edition, 1605, also The French Academie, fully finished in foure bookes, 1618; The French Academie, trans. T. B[owes], 1614; Huarte, Examen de Ingenios, The Examination of Mens Wits, trans. R. C[arew], 1604, 1616; Jean de Cartigny, The Voyage of the Wandering Knight, trans. William Goodyear, 1607, [1609?].

Reprints of original works: Barckley, A Discourse of the Felicitie of Man, 1603; Baldwin, A Treatise of Morall Philosophy, 1610, [1620?]; Vaughan, The Golden Grove, 1608.

Translations after 1603: Plutarch, The Philosophie Commonlie Called the Morals, trans. Philemon Holland, 1603; Seneca, The Workes of L. A. Seneca Both Morrall a. Naturall, 1614, 1620; Jean Hotman, The French Ambassador, 1603; Hotman, A Caskett Full of Rich Jewels, 1609; Tommaso Buoni, Problemes of Beautie and All Humane Affections, trans. S. L. [1606]; The Golden Cabinet of True Treasure, trans. W. Jewel, 1612; Pierre Charron, Of Wisedome, trans. S. Lennard (before 1612) (after 1612); Nicholas Coeffeteau, A Table of Humane Passions, trans. E. Grimestone, 1621; Du Vair, The True Way to Vertue and Happiness, trans. A. Court, 1623 [-22].

Original works printed after 1603: Ri[chard] Ro[ggers], Will[iam] Per[kins], Ri[chard] Green[ham], N.M., and Geo[rge] Web[be], A Garden of Spiritual Flowers, 1609 (5th time imprinted), 1610, 1612, 1620, 1622, 1625; Sir Michel Scott, The Philosophers Banquet, 1614; A Discourse against Flatterie, 1611; Anthony Stafford, Meditations and Resolutions, Morall, Divine, Politicall, 1612; Anthony Nixon, The Dignitie of Man, 1612, 1616, 1616 (1s-ue); Samuel Croke, The Guide unto True Blessednesse, 1613, ed., The Guide unto True Happiness, 1614; [A. Stafford?], The Golden Meane, 1613, 1614; Robert Bolton, A Discourse about the State of True Happiness, 1610, 1612, 1614; Thomas Gainsford, The Rich Cabinet, 1616; Richard Turner, Youth Know Thy Selfe, 1624.

such as essays written in a philosophical vein,⁹⁴ books of precepts, and rules of conduct,⁹⁵ appeared throughout this period. The satires attacking shrewish and foolish women provoked the usual defences of good women.⁹⁶

⁹⁴Reprints of earlier essays: Bacon, Essayes, 1606, 1612, The Essaies of Sir Francis Bacon, 1613, 1613, 1613, 1614, Essaies, Religious Meditations, 1624, The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall, 1625; Cornwallis, Essayes, 1610, 1616, 1616, Essayes, or Rather Encomions, 1616, Essayes of Certaine Paradoxes, 1616, 1617 (second impression enlarged), Essayes, Part I, 1606. There was also John Florio's translation of Michel de Montaigne, The Essayes or Morall, Politicke Discourses, in 1603 and 1613.

New Works: Robert Johnson, Essaies or Imperfect Offers, 1607, 1610; Daniel Tuvill, Essayes Politicke and Morall, 1608, Essayes Morall and Theologicall, 1609; John Stephens, Satirical Essayes, Characters and Others, 1615, ed.--Essayes and Characters, Ironically and Instructive, 1615; Grey Brydges, Fifth Lord of Chandos, Horae subsecivae. Observations and Discourses, 1620; William Mason, A Handfull of Essaies. Or Imperfect Offers, 1621; John Robinson, Observations Divine and Morall, 1625; Alexander Gardynare, Characters and Essayes, 1625.

⁹⁵James I, Basilicon Doron, or His Majesties Instruction to His Dearest Sonne Henry, the Prince, 1603, 1603, 1603, 1603, 1604, 1624; A Princes Looking Glasse, excerpted out of the Basili-con Doron and trans. into Latin and English verse by W. Wilymat, 1603; The Father's Blessing; or Second Counsel to His Sonne, Appropriated to the Generall from the Perticular Example His Majestie Composed for the Prince His Son, 1616, 1624 (5th ed.); Elizabeth Grymeston, Miscelanea. Meditations Memoratives, 1604 (2d ed.) [1606?], [1608?]; Court of Good Counsell, 1607; Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Instructions to His Son, 1609; William Martyn, Youths Instruction, 1612, 1613; Dorothy Leigh, The Mothers Blessing, 1616, 1618 (4th ed.), 1618 (5th ed.), 1621 (7th ed.); William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Certaine Precepts or Directions for the Well Ordering of a Man's Life, 1617, 1618 (Burghley died in 1598); Counsel of a Father to His Sonne, 1620; Richard Greenham, Short Rules Sent to a Gentlewoman, 1621; Elizabeth Joceline, The Mothers Legacie to Her Unborn Child, 1624; John Norden, The Fathers Legacie; with Precepts and Prayers, 1625; Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Walter Raleighs Instructions to His Sonne and to Posteritie, 1632 (he died in 1618).

⁹⁶Reprints of earlier satires: Greene, A Quip for an Upstart Courtier, 1606, 1620, 1622; Lodge and Greene, A Looking Glasse for London and England, 1617; Rowlands, Humors Ordinarie (before 1603), 1607, ed.--The Letting of Humours Blood, 1611, 1613.

Satires printed after 1603: Dekker, The Batchelars Banquet, 1603, 1604; Dekker, The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London, 1606; William Terilo, A Piece of Friar Bacons Brazen-Heads Prophesie, 1604; Rowlands, Looke to It; For Ile Stabbe Ye, 1604, 1604; Middleton, The Blacke Booke, 1604; Barnabe Rich, Faultes, Faults and Nothing Else but Faultes, 1606, issue with title, My Ladies Looking Glasse, 1616; Ludovico Ariosto, Ariosto's Satyres in Seven Famous Discourses, trans. G. Markham (or rather R. Tofte),

In general the position held by satirist, philosopher, and moralist remained unchanged. Their arguments in favor of the good wife and against the shrewish wife did not alter materially throughout the centuries. Hall, Whately, and Gouge treated the subject of matrimony in the conventional manner, setting down the rules for the choice of a wife and the various duties of both husbands and wives. To be modest, obedient, discreet, virtuous, and provident were still the virtues required of the good wife. Markham in his books on husbandry did not neglect to treat of the art of housewifery. In a section on this he first described the good wife as one who was religious, modest, temperate in all things, and delightful and amiable throughout all the various circumstances

1608; ed.--Ariostos Seven Planets Governing Italy or His Satyres (trans. R. Tofte), 1611; Rich, Roome for a Gentleman, 1608; Dekker, The Guls Horne-Booke, 1609; Rowlands, Humors Looking Glasse, 1608, A Whole Crewe of King Gossips All Met to Be Merry, 1609, ed.--A Crewe of Kind Gossips, 1613; Knave of Clubbes, 1609, 1611, 1611; The Uncasing of Machivills Instructions to His Sonne, 1613, 1615; George Wither, Abuses Stript and Whipt, 1613, 1613, 1613, ed.--Abuses Stript and Whipt. Also the Scourge. Epigrams, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1617, 1622; Rich, The Honestie of This Age, 1614, 1615, 1616; Robert Anton, The Philosophers Satyrs, 1616, 1s--Vices Anatomie Scourged and Corrected in New Satires, 1617; Thomas Tuke, A Treatise against Paintng [sic] and Tincturing of Men and Women, 1616; Henry Hutton, Follie's Anatomie or Satyres and Satyricall Epigrams, 1619; Henry Fitzgeffrey, Satyres and Satyricall Epigrams, 1617, Certain Elegies Done by Sondrie Excellent Wits. With Satyres and Epigrams [by Henry Fitzgeffrey], 1618, 1620; Wither, Workes Satyrs, Epigrams, Ecologues, Sonnets and Poems, 1620; Rowlands, The Night-Raven, 1620, 1624; Joseph Martyn, New Epigrams and Satyres, 1621; Richard Brathwaite, Natures Embassie, or The Wilde-Mans Measures, 1621, 1623; Rowlands, Good Newes and Bad Newes, 1622; Samuel Kenrick, The Tell-Troth's Requittall, or Truth's Recompence, 1627; Thomas Powell, Tom of All Trades, or The Plaine Pathway to Preferment, 1631.

Controversies: Joseph Swetnam, The Arraignment of Lewde, Idle, Froward and Unconstant Women, 1615, 1616, 1616, 1617, 1619, 1622; Constantia Munda, The Worming of a Mad Dogge, or A Soppe for Cerberus, 1617; Ester Sowerman, Ester Hath Hang'd Haman; or An Answer to a Lewde Pamphlet, 1617; Swetnam the Woman-Hater, Arraigned by Women, 1620; Rachel Speght, A Mouzell for Melastomus. Or an Answer to That Pamphlet Made by Jo: Swetnam. The Arraignement of Women, 1617; Hic Muller, or The Man-Woman, 1620, [1620?]; Haec Vir, or The Womanish-Man, 1620; Mulde Sacke; or The Apologie of Hic-Muller, 1620.

Defences of Women: J. G., An Apologie for Woman-Kinde, 1605; William Heale, An Apologie for Women, 1609; Christopher Newstead, An Apology for Women, 1620; Richard Ferrer, The Worth of Women. A Poem, 1622; Abraham Darcie, The Honour of the Ladies; or A True Description of Their Noble Perfections, 1622; Thomas Heywood, Gunakeion or Nine Bookes of Various History Concerninge Women, 1634; William Austin, Haec Homo, Wherein the Excellency of the Creation of Woman Is Described, 1637.

of life.⁹⁷ Then he gave his interpretation of the Biblical command given to her that she cherish and care for her family. This, he believed, included a knowledge of the practical arts of caring for the sick, of cooking, of making woollen, hempen, and linen cloth, of the care of the dairy, of brewing and malting. Thus he clearly established his relation to other writers on the ideal of the good wife by writing a practical handbook on the art of being a good housewife.

Philosophers continued to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of matrimony. They believed that the ideal wife should be loving, patient, affable, modest, and diligent in providing for her household.⁹⁸ Satirists continued to praise the good wife and attack the shrew. All the curst shrewishness and guile, all the tricks of women to rule, and all their vanities and wantonness were mercilessly exposed.⁹⁹

Such satire provoked writers to defend women. These defences ranged from the clever and biting tone of those who became involved in the Swetnam controversy to the careful and humorous re-statement of the ideal of the good wife to be found in Heywood's Gunaikeion. The controversial attitude assumed by those answering Swetnam's pamphlet resulted in amusing arguments which tended to keep the quarrel going rather than to end it. Thus to Swetnam's statement that women were made from one man's ribs and hence of a crooked disposition, the apt answer was given that man, having so many more of these original ribs, must be even more crooked and crabbed in temper.¹⁰⁰ Women were accused by some of assuming

⁹⁷ Way to Get Wealthe (London, 1625), Bk. III, "Countrey Contentments or The English Housewife," pp. 1-4.

⁹⁸ See Charron, Of Wisedome, trans. Samuel Leonard (London, 1658), Bk. I, chap. xlv; Bk. III, chap. xii; Gainsford, Rich Cabinet (London, 1616), pp. 191 ff.; Robinson, Essayes (London, 1638), pp. 521 ff.

⁹⁹ Rowlands has many satires on this; Knave of Spades, in Works, I, 26; "Idle Housewife," Looke to It for Ile Stabbe Ye, in Works, I, 34; Night Raven, in Works, II, 15, 17-18, 25; Humours Looking Glasse, in Works, I, 11, 14, 25, 28, 32. Cf. Richard Johnson, The Crowne Garland of Golden Roses in Early English Poetry, Ballads ("Percy Society," VI [London, 1842]), 78-80.

¹⁰⁰ Ester Sowerman, Ester Hath Hang'd Haman, as quoted in Grosart, Occasional Issues, XIV, xxxiii-iv; cf. also the scholastic arguments in William Austin, Haec Homo (London, 1631).

masculine attire, and in reply came the irrelevant defence that men were adopting feminine fashions.¹⁰¹ Far more to the point, though with less obvious wit, were the attempts to examine the subject dispassionately. Thomas Heywood in his book Gunaikeion collected all the stories he could find of both good and evil women. His first three books were so eloquent in praise of virtuous women that one of his friends, a bitter detractor of women, read them and became an ardent defender of women.¹⁰² The next three books contained stories of evil women, with a digression to include scolds, while the last books were in highest praise of chaste, pious, virtuous, learned maids and wives. By accumulating examples of illustrious women, Heywood hoped to prove that the majority of women were good, not evil, and that the sex as a whole ought to be praised, not condemned.

A similar belief on the part of William Heale caused him to refute the argument that it is lawful for men to beat their wives. The occasion for his treatise was stated in the full title, An Apologie for Women or An Opposition to Mr. G. His Assertion. Who Held in the Act at Oxford, Anno 1608, That It Was Lawful for Husbands to Beate Their Wives. Heale lists the various arguments which refute this statement and in Chapter III gives a panegyric on the good wife.¹⁰³ This praise of the ideal of the good wife links this treatise with other writings which praised that ideal.

The great interest in the ideal good wife, no doubt, found added stimulus in the fact that the king expressed his approval of this ideal in both his writings and his speeches. James, as philosopher and father, wrote a treatise of instruction for his son touching, among other things, upon the choice of a wife. As might be expected, he gave the usual warning against marrying for wealth or beauty and followed this with advice on how to choose a virtuous wife and on how to govern her after marriage.¹⁰⁴ What was not to be expected, in such a book, was that

¹⁰¹For an amusing account of the stir caused by Haec Vir, Hic Mulier controversy, see John Taylor, The Whip of Pride [1621], in Works, Part I ("Spenser Society," II [Manchester, 1869]), 33, col. b, ll. 45 ff.

¹⁰²Heywood, Gunaikeion (London, 1624), pp. 160-61.

¹⁰³An Apologie for Women (London, 1609), pp. 11-12.

¹⁰⁴James I, Basilicon Doron ("Roxeburgh Club," CXVI [London, 1887]), pp. 91-99.

James ignored the fact that his son's wife must be fitted to become a court lady and eventually a queen. The evidence of court atmosphere in this chapter is slight. Perhaps the worldly tone in which the idea is expressed that beauty and wealth were useful and not to be overlooked might be termed courtly. But, on the whole, James agreed with philosophers and writers of domestic books that women are weak, inferior creatures, admirable only when they achieve perfection as good wives. Those who hoped for a reform of the court by this philosophical king were encouraged by his continual reiteration of the domestic ideal.

On every possible occasion this king expressed his personal attitude towards women so forcefully that, at times, he seemed determined to take down "high-handed" shrewish wives. During the reigns of Elizabeth and James numerous proclamations were issued which ordered the people who were flocking to the court to return to their homes in the country. This was largely an economic measure to relieve the great burden of court expenses. While the conduct of certain court ladies, such as Elizabeth, Countess of Derby, and Frances, Countess of Essex, who had refused to live on their country estates, might easily have provoked sermons on rebellious wives, nevertheless James's speech before the Star Chamber in 1616 seems rather overweighted by his own personal prejudice against women. In his opinion the great social evil of the times was this flocking to court, a custom instigated and fostered by the ambition and pride of women.¹⁰⁵

In his treatment of scandals at court, James similarly placed the blame upon women, while in reality the whole atmosphere of his court was such that it fostered immorality. In 1618, James was persuaded to investigate the Cecil-Lake scandal. Elizabeth Lake had married William Cecil, Lord Roos, step-grandson of the old Earl of Exeter. A year later, in 1617, Roos, reckless and extravagant, left his young wife and went to Italy. Angered by his desertion, she started rumors of a scandal concerning her husband and the young wife of the Earl of Exeter. At the request of the libelled lady's father, Lord Chandos, and of her husband, the Earl of Exeter, the king assumed charge of an inquiry into

¹⁰⁵ James I, The Political Works of James I, ed. C. H. McIlwain (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918), pp. 343-44; Nichols, Progresses of James, IV, 804.

this matter. A heavy sentence of fines and imprisonment were imposed upon the guilty parties, Lady Roos, her father and mother. In presenting his judgment of this case, James severely censured the women, comparing Lady Roos to Eve, her mother to the serpent, and her father to Adam who was beguiled by these two.¹⁰⁶ Nor was this the last of James's vituperations against women. In 1619 Chamberlain gives the following interesting report of the king's interview with Sir George Calvert, a candidate for the late Earl of Salisbury's office:

The King sending for him, asked many questions, most about his wife. His answer was, that she was a good woman, that she was not a wife with a witness. This and some other passages of this kind seem to shew that the King is in a great vein of taking down high-handed women.¹⁰⁷

In the same year James dismissed Viscount Wallingford and stated that his only fault was in "being governed by his wife."¹⁰⁸

The church joined James in his campaign against "high handed" women. In 1620, the Bishop of London told his clergy that the king had ordered them to inveigh vehemently in their sermons against women wearing broad-brimmed hats and pointed doublets.¹⁰⁹ Chamberlain describes the wholehearted support many gave to this injunction.

Our Pulpits ring continually of the insolence and impudence of Women, and to help forward, the Players have likewise taken them to task, and so to the Ballads and Ballad-singers; so that they can come no where but their ears tingle, And if all this will not serve, the King threatens to fall upon their husbands, parents, or friends, that have or should have power over them, and make them pay for it.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Reverend Thomas Lorkin, Letter to Sir William Pucker-
ing, Feb. 16, 1618-19, in R. F. Williams (ed.), The Court and
Times of James the First (London, 1848), II, 140; cf. Calendar of
State Papers, Domestic, James, 1619-1623 (London, 1858), p. 14;
Charles Dalton, Life and Times of General Sir Edward Cecil, Vis-
count Wimbledon (London, 1885), pp. 273 ff.

¹⁰⁷ Letter to Carleton, in Nichols, Progresses of James I,
III, 529.

¹⁰⁸ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1619-1623, p. 9.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 116.

¹¹⁰ Letter to Carleton, Feb. 1619-20, in Nichols, Progres-
ses of James I, III, 588.

There is record of one occasion on which James took it upon himself to admonish the ladies publicly. Yellow bands and ruffs had not been in favor since 1615 when Mrs. Turner, the accomplice of the Countess of Somerset, was hanged. D'Ewes gives his explanation as to why this type of ruff was associated with Mrs. Turner. "Mrs. Turner had first brought up that vain and foolish use of yellow starch, coming herself to her trial in a yellow band and cuffs; and, therefore, when she was afterwards executed at Tyburn, the hangman had his bands and cuffs of the same colour, which made many after that of either sex to for bear the use of that coloured starch till it at last grew generally to be detested and disused."¹¹¹ But apparently by 1620 women were daring to use this starch which had now such evil associations. In 1621 James, in no uncertain terms, showed his disapproval of this revival of the fashion of yellow bands and ruffs. On one of his progresses, the king ". . . looking up to one window as he passed, full of gentlewomen or ladies, all in yellow bands, he cried out aloud, 'A p-- take ye! are you there?' at which being much ashamed, they all withdrew themselves suddenly from the window."¹¹²

The attitude of the court towards this ideal upheld so vigorously by the king was reflected in the courtesy books, essays, and poetic sketches of the period. Courtiers such as Sir Walter Raleigh and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who wrote books of instructions for their sons, agreed with the king that in the choice of a wife a man should have regard primarily for virtue and secondarily for that which made it more palatable, wealth and beauty.¹¹³ This was their only concern for women, that they make good wives. Other courtesy books of the period gave advice to the ambitious courtier on the means of advancement at court. To such men, women who were so capricious and easily in and out of favor with the prince were regarded only as hazards.¹¹⁴ Such writers considered women were weak and inferior to

¹¹¹Sir Simon D'Ewes, Autobiography and Correspondence (London, 1845), I, 79.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 170.

¹¹³Raleigh, Instructions to His Son and to Posterity, chap. 11, in The Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh, pp. 83-88; Northumberland, Advice to His Son, p. 94; Burghley, Precepts (London, 1636), pp. 1-7. Cf. Cleland, The Institution of a Young Nobleman, pp. 13-14.

¹¹⁴Ducci, The Courtiers Arte, chap. xxv; Du Refuge, A Treatise of the Court, chap. xxxviii.

men. No longer was there a belief such as Castiglione's that women were equal to men, or even divine and worthy to be worshipped.

Courtiers were showing a decided interest in the ideal of the good wife. Some, such as Sir Francis Bacon and William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, turned philosophers and wrote essays. Essayists, remembering the philosophers' conception of women as weak and inferior creatures, illustrated their commentaries on secrecy, vanity, and susceptibility to flattery with examples of feminine follies and vanities. Montaigne remarked that minds most empty and without counterpoise yield most readily to persuasion, and added: "And that's the reason why children, those of the common sort, women, and sicke folks are so subject to be misled, and so easie to swallow gudgeons."¹¹⁵ Tuvill observed that men are captivated by the beauty of women and tell them everything, forgetting the "weakness and imbecilitie of the sex"¹¹⁶ and their habit of talking. Then lest he be considered an uncivil and snarling satirist, he told one remarkable story of a good wife.¹¹⁷ Chandos, with more consideration for women, merely warned them against flattery as follows: ". . . women as the weaker vessels, had need to be very careful, and circumspect of giving entertainment, . . . being generally of their own natural inclination, so full of vanity, & desirous of praise."¹¹⁸ In essays the writers affirm that women are weak and to be governed, not admirable or divine. It is significant that this opinion of philosophers was re-stated by men who had been brought up in the atmosphere of neo-Platonism at Elizabeth's court. Such a fact seems to indicate that a shift in the idealization of women has affected the court.

The court's interest in the ideal of the good wife was, perhaps, most apparent in character writing, a form of writing much in vogue in the seventeenth century. Of the various collec-

¹¹⁵Michael, Lord de Montaigne, Essayes, trans. John Florio (London, [1885]), p. 81, col. a.

¹¹⁶Daniel Tuvill, Essayes Politicke and Moral (London, 1608), p. 101^v.

¹¹⁷Ibid., pp. 111^r ff.

¹¹⁸Grey Brydges, Lord Chandos, Horae Subsecivae. Observations (London, 1620), pp. 456-57.

tions of characters published, probably the most famous was that which appeared in 1614 compiled from the writings of Sir Thomas Overbury and other courtiers.¹¹⁹ Characters on the good wife and the shrew were included in this volume, and to the whole was prefixed a poetic sketch written by Sir Thomas Overbury. Other writers imitated these two methods of describing the good wife, and similar characters and poetic sketches were published.

In general the good wife as portrayed by character writers closely resembled the good wife in Proverbs. She was called a comfort to man and a mirror of true and constant modesty. She had the eye of wariness, the tongue of silence, and the heart of love. A good housewife, she was noted for her prudence and frugality, her wisdom and her religion.¹²⁰ The poetic sketches of the good wife, on the other hand, followed the general plan and adopted the ideas of the writers of books on domestic life. Concerned with the matter of choosing they put the advice to be found in precepts into rhyme. The forms of this type of poetry varied from the simple versions of such writers as Codrington,¹²¹ to the elaborate poems by Overbury and his imitators.¹²²

Overbury's poem, "His Wife," gives a complete and finished description of his ideal of a wife. After a preliminary philosophical discourse on the advantages and disadvantages of marriage, he writes at length on those things which he considered to

¹¹⁹For a detailed study and bibliography of character writing, see Gwendolyn Murphy, A Cabinet of Characters (London: Oxford University Press, 1925); E. N. S. Thompson, Literary By-paths of the Renaissance (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924), pp. 1-27.

¹²⁰See Henry Morley (ed.), Character Writers of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1891), pp. 283, 28, 274. Cf. ibid., pp. 48, 273-74.

¹²¹Giles Codrington, "The Counsell of a Friend, Hearing a Purpose of Marriage by Another," in Poetical Miscellanies of the Time of James I, in Early English Poetry Ballads ("Percy Society," XV [London, 1845]), 10; Rowlands, "Much Adoe about Chusing a Wife," Humours Looking Glasse, in Complete Works, Vol. I; John Davies of Hereford, Epigram, 181. "Of Choosing a Wife," Scourge of Folly, in Works (London, 1878), Vol. II.

¹²²The Husband: A Poeme Expressed in a Complete Man, 1614; John Davies of Hereford, A Select Second Husband for Sir T. Overburies Wife, Now a Matchlesse Widow, 1616; Patrick Hannay, A Happy Husband. To Which Is Adjoined the Good Wife by R. Brathwaite, 1618, 1619.

be of secondary importance in the choice of a wife, namely, beauty, wealth, and rank. The good wife in his opinion must be good, that is, religious, for this would ensure that she be virtuous in thought and in deed. She must possess understanding, that is, wisdom, not learning, judgment, not wit; and above all, a thorough knowledge of domestic affairs. Her discreet behavior was to safeguard her against slander. With all these virtues, Overbury, as the worldly courtier, wishes her to have grace, modesty, and beauty. To assure happiness in marriage with such a lady he would have her love for him founded on reason and her disposition fit or congenial to his own. It is little to be wondered at that his contemporaries acclaimed this ideal, marvelling at the pleasant combination of inward and outward virtues in one woman. Nor is it surprising that they should insist on the same qualities when they came to write of the good wife.

In graceful literary compliment to Overbury, later writers adopted the device of finding a perfect husband for his perfect wife, now a widow. John Davies of Hereford in his poem, A Select Husband for Sir T. Overburies Wife, Now a Matchless Widow, lists the qualities of the wife and matches them with the corresponding qualities in the ideal husband. So great was his interest in the wife that he digressed for a number of stanzas eulogizing her beauty, modest, good behavior, and great love for her husband.¹²³ His, then, was as much a re-statement of the ideal of the good wife as of the good husband. Hannay's poem, The Happy Husband, was a far freer treatment of the same theme. His description of the husband is so complete that there is little attention paid to the wife. But in another poem, A Wives Behaviour, attached to this one he gives a full description of the wife and her virtues such as obedience, mildness, constancy, sweetness, and love. Even in his advice that she take care in the management of her household, that she gossip not and go not much abroad, Hanny followed the conventional material given in the books on domestic life.

Wither, Aylett, Chapman, and Brathwaite followed the court fashion and wrote long poems on the good wife. Chapman's sketch was a prosaic and unoriginal version similar to Hannay's poem in

¹²³ Stanzas xxiii-xxxii.

its conventionality.¹²⁴ Robert Aylett told the story of Susanna, and added amusingly realistic details taken from the life of the busy English housewife described in books on husbandry. Thus this Susanna is pictured as rising early, calling the maids to prayer, consulting with the steward and the cook, healing the sick at the door, reading scripture to the maids as they spin and weave, and then coming to breakfast. Joachim, who has played the part of the busy husbandman, enters, conducts prayers after breakfast, and then departs to work in the field.¹²⁵ From this point the story continues in the usual manner with the appearance of the ill-famed elders. But even this unusual treatment of the theme of the good wife is outdone by George Wither in his poem called "Fidelia." The jilted heroine, Fidelia, laments her lover's broken faith and tries in quite a reasonable fashion to discover what qualities of the good wife she must, in her lover's eyes, have lacked. She humbly examines herself along the old traditional lines as to her beauty, fortune, nobility of birth, love, and fitness of disposition.¹²⁶ By such means does Wither give a complete description of the good wife. The freshness of this treatment is in striking contrast with that used in Brathwaite's poem, The Description of a Good Wife (1619). Combining, as it does, expressions which faintly echo the courtly verse of Overbury and his contemporaries, this poem seems to be merely a simple paraphrase of their much admired work. Shorn of all philosophical subtleties, simple in form and style, Brathwaite's poem takes on a didactic quality closely akin to that of the long popular, rhymed versions of precepts written for the instruction of the young.

While it is true that court interest in the ideal of the good wife may have stimulated much of this writing, nevertheless it must not be forgotten that the story of the good wife continued to be a familiar and popular one in literature. While stories illustrating the proper conduct of the good wife appeared

¹²⁴Chapman, "The Good Woman," Poems and Minor Translations (London, 1875), II, 151-52.

¹²⁵Robert Aylett, Susanna; or The Arraignment of the Two Unjust Elders (London, 1622), Bk. II, pp. 12-16.

¹²⁶Juvenilia, Part II ("Spenser Society," X [London, 1871]), 598 ff., 609 ff.

throughout James's reign¹²⁷ in drama this theme became popular. In the early years of his reign a group of plays on the story of the courtesan and the patient wife appeared.¹²⁸ The sub-plot of many a play was based upon the conception of the good wife.¹²⁹ The variety displayed in the handling of the same material showed the great interest in the theme. In John Day's Law-Trickes the estranged Countess, still deeply in love with her husband, is easily persuaded by the villain that the Count seeks reconciliation. She comes to the banquet to see him, and thus drinks the cup of poisoned wine prepared for her. The great love of the wife and her great eagerness to believe in her husband make her an easy victim of such scheming. In Field's play, Amends for Ladies, the usual ending of the Griselda story is given. The husband and even the intriguing villain are reformed by the wife's virtue. But often unexpectedly humorous or tragic endings were given to this theme of the jealous husband and the patient wife by more cynical dramatists. Some wives, weary of the unreasonable jealousy of their husbands, proceed to gull them in order to cure them of the

¹²⁷The following editions are recorded: Willoughby, Willobie His Avisa, 1605, 1609; Greene, Pandosto. The Triumph of Time, 1607, 1616; Never Too Late, 1607, 1616, [1620?], 1621; Greenes Arcadia; or Menaphon, 1610, 1616; Philomela, 1615; A Record of Auncient Histories Intituled in Latin: Gesta Romanorum, corrected by R. Robinson, 1610; Dekker, Patient Grisill, printed in 1603; Heywood, The Royall King and Loyall Subject, printed in 1604; How to Chuse a Good Wife from a Bad, printed in 1605, 1608, 1614, 1621. For seventeenth-century versions of the theme see the collections of such stories by Thomas Deloney in his Garland of Good Will, the anonymous tale, The Antient True and Admirable History of Patient Grisill, 1607, 1619, and the story of the faithful wife in Thomas Coryate, Coryat's Crudities (London, 1625), III, Q 7^v-Q 8^r.

¹²⁸Fair Maid of Bristow, 1603, London Prodigal, 1603, Marston, Dutch Courtesan, ca. 1603-04, John Day, Law-Trickes. For a detailed study of these plays see C. R. Baskerville, "Sources and Analogues of 'How a Man May Choose,'" PMLA, XXIV (1909), 711-30.

¹²⁹See Marston, Parasitaster or The Fawne, ca. 1604-06; Middleton, A Mad World My Masters, entered 1608; Machin and Markham, The Dumb Knight, ca. 1607-08; Middleton, The Family of Love, entered 1607; Every Woman in Her Humour, printed 1609; Beaumont and Fletcher, The Coxcombe, ca. 1610 (acted at court 1612, 1619); Edward Sharpham, Cupid's Whirligig, printed 1611; The Second Maidens Tragedy, licensed 1611; Field, Amends for Ladies, ca. 1611.

foolish passion.¹³⁰ Wanton wives were shown tricking their suspicious husbands into a belief that they were good simply by simulating the conventional behavior of the good wife.¹³¹ But not all husbands were so easily hoodwinked, and the discovery of such a trick is developed in the play, The Second Maiden's Tragedy.¹³² What must have been originally a tragic theme was used in The Captives. A virtuous wife, receiving a love letter from a friar, believes it to be a test devised by her jealous husband and shows him the letter to prove her innocence. The husband declares the letter genuine, and kills the would-be seducer.¹³³ The action of all these plays is built upon the conception of the good wife. Thus through the extreme virtue of some wives, husbands and villains hope to work out their evil schemes successfully, while shrews, familiar with the theory of the conduct of the good wife, are able, by feigning it, to gull their husbands. In their treatment of the theme, dramatists might be as sympathetic as Middleton in his description of Madame Castiza, the wife for sale in the play, The Phoenix, as cynical as Chapman in his play, The Widow's Tears, or as facetious as the author of Everie Woman in Her Humour, who portrays the citizen's wife who would "wear the breeches."

During the reign of James, courtier, philosopher, satirist, poet, and dramatist were all writing in praise of the good wife. So popular was this ideal that it seemed to overshadow that of the court lady. It is a curious situation to find the courtier extolling the good wife instead of the court lady. Was this praise of the good wife a literary pose on the part of the courtier? Was there any difference between the attitude of the courtly and middle-class writers towards this ideal? What relation, if any, did this ideal of the good wife bear to the thought and life of the court?

¹³⁰Marston, Parasitaster or The Fawne, II, 1; IV, 1; V, 1; Sharpham, Cupid's Whirligig, I, 1; II, 1; IV, 1.

¹³¹Middleton, The Family of Love, V, 11.

¹³²The Second Maiden's Tragedy [1611] ("Malone Society Reprints"; [London], 1910), 11. 1785 ff.

¹³³The Captives; or The Lost Recovered, ed. Alex. C. Judson (New Haven, 1921), III, 1; III, 111.

Court writers, conscious of the ambiguity of their position, carefully differentiated their attitude toward the ideal of the good wife from that of middle-class writers. It was not the "art of Housewifery" that they particularly demanded in the good wife. Their ideal wife was not simply a good housewife busy at her baking, brewing, and other household tasks, but rather one who knew these arts and so could superintend the servants in their work.¹³⁴ Chapman preferred to have the leisure time of his ideal good wife taken up with reading, rather than with "housewiferies" of low kinds."¹³⁵ Sir John Harrington described in detail this distinction in the various types of knowledge and virtue demanded of wives, as follows:

A well learnd man
 Of womens vertues talking, them devyded
In three, the private, civyll, and heroyck.
And what he said of thease, to tell you briefly,
 He first began discoursing of the private,
 Which each playn cuntry huswife may arrive att,
As homsely and that home concerneth cheefly.
The fruit, malt, hopps, to tend, to dry, to utter,

The next a step, but yet a large stepp higher
 Was Civill vertue fitter for the citty,
 With modest looks, good cloathes, and awnsvers witty,
Those baser things not don but guided by her.
Her idle tymes and idle coyn she spends
 On needle works, and when the season serves
 In making dainty Junkettes and Consarvs,
To wellcom in kind sort his deerest frends.
But farr above them all he most extolled
 The statly Heroyne whose noble mynde
 It self to those poor orders cannot binde,
Anomelons that still lyve uncontrolled.
These entertayn great princes; these have lerned
 The tongues, toyes, tricks, of Room, of Spain, of Fraunce;
 These can Currentos and Lavoltas dance,

 Themselves ar learnd, and their Heroyk sperit
 Can make disgrace an honor, sinn a merit.
All penns, all prayzers ar on them dependent.
Well, gentle wife, thow knowst I am not Stoicall,

¹³⁴Harrison, Description of England, Bk. III, chap. xv, p. 196; Thomas Gainsford, Rich Cabinet (London, 1616), pp. 103-04.

¹³⁵"The Good Woman," Poems and Minor Translations, II, 151, col. b, l. 17.

Yet would I wish, take not the wish in evill,
You knew the private vertue, kept the civill,
But in no sort aspyre to that hoocroycally.¹³⁶

It seemed to be the general opinion of the court that such a great difference did exist between the court lady and the good wife. Overbury had described a wife who combined the virtues of the good wife with those of the court lady. His contemporaries, while they had admired her, had pointed out that this was an ideal woman who could never be found in real life.¹³⁷ Such courtiers were not advocating that only good wives appear at court, but they were showing that they too could theorize over ideals. In reality they accepted women with all their faults and wished for a court lady, though she were far from ideal, to amuse and charm them. During James's reign, then, it no longer seemed possible for the good wife to be a court lady and maintain all the virtues necessary to the good wife.

In the early Elizabethan period the ideal of Castiglione with its exact mixture of grace and virtue found favor with courtier, moralist, and satirist alike. But, as was inevitable in following this high ideal, abuses, follies, and vanities crept into court life. Even the appearance of a decided reaction to these follies failed to check the degeneration of a fine ideal. Furthermore, circumstances were unfavorable to reform. Philosophy which reasoned that women were weak and inferior creatures was becoming the fashion with courtiers. Satire, caused by the reaction to the innumerable social follies of the time, was prevalent around 1600. In this atmosphere of cynicism, disillusion, and reason one would expect the platonic ideal of women to disappear.

Conditions at James's court accentuated these tendencies. At a court noted for its riotous way of living and its coarse and flippant attitude towards women any idealization of the court lady disappeared. Literature reflected this. Some writers frankly admitted in their comedy and satire the faults of women.

¹³⁶ Letters and Epigrams, p. 291; cf. John Davies, A Select Husband, stanza lxxxii, in Works, II, 9.

¹³⁷ I. F., "On Sir Thomas Overburies Poem 'The Wife,'" ll. 1-6, in Miscellaneous Works of Sir Thomas Overbury (London, 1890), pp. 19-20; cf. X. Z., "On 'The Wife,'" ll. 1-4, Works of Overbury, p. 23; D. T., "On 'The Wife,'" ll. 6-11, Works of Overbury, p. 22.

Others with longing described the ideal woman, indicating this was an ideal, not a reality. The heroic ideals which the court followed were condemned by all moralists. Only the sober, virtuous habits of those far removed from court received the praise of conservative writers. Thus at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there began to appear that divergence between the ideals of the flippant court lady and the sober, puritanical matron which was to become so marked in the later part of the century.

